

Message Text

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ACTION ACDA-10

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AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY LONDON

USNMR SHAPE

USCINCEUR

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 4 VIENNA 8871

LIMDIS

MBFR NEGOTIATIONS

FROM US REP MBFR

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, NATO

SUBJECT: MBFR NEGOTIATIONS: AD HOC GROUP MEETING OCT 25, 1973

1. BEGIN SUMMARY. AD HOC GROUP DISCUSSED THE SCHEDULING OF PLENARY AND AD HOC GROUP MEETINGS DURING THE INITIAL PERIOD OF NEGOTIATIONS ON THE BASIS OF A PAPER SUBMITTED BY THE UK DELEGATION (TEXT SEPTTEL), AND AGREED ON A SCHEDULE INVOLVING PLENARIES EACH TUESDAY AND THURSDAY MORNING WITH AD HOC GROUP MEETINGS EVERY AFTERNOON BUT FRIDAY. IT WAS UNDERSTOOD THAT THIS SCHEDULE COULD CHANGE WHEN NEGOTIATIONS MOVE FROM THE PARALLEL EXPOSITION OF POSITIONS TO BACK-AND-FORTH DISCUSSIONS. THE GROUP AGREED TO GIVE ITS FIRST ORAL REPORT TO THE NAC ON FRIDAY, NOV 9; THE NAC'S PREFERENCE FOR NOV 8 CANNOT BE MET BECAUSE THE AUSTRIAN CHANCELLOR HAS SCHEDULED A RECEPTION FOR ALL DELEGATIONS THE EVENING OF THE 8TH. OPENING STATE-
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MENT DRAFTS BY BELGIUM, NORWAY, ITALY, CANADA, AND THE UK

WERE REVIEWED, AND CANADIAN AND FRG REPS INDICATED THEY ARE SEEKING PERMISSION OF THEIR AUTHORITIES TO REMOVE STATEMENT THAT FORCE INCREASES DURING NEGOTIATIONS COULD IMPERIL NECESSARY MUTUAL CONFIDENCE. GROUP ALSO DISCUSSED QUESTION OF POST-PLENARY COMMUNIQUE AND THE ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE FIRST PLENARY SESSION. END SUMMARY.

2. ORGANIZATIONAL MATTERS. CHAIRMAN (DANISH ACTING REP KORSGAARD-PEDERSON) INFORMED AD HOC GROUP OF NATO SYG MESSAGE WHICH STATED THAT NOVEMBER 2 WAS AN UNSUITABLE DATE FOR THE ORAL REPORT TO THE NAC AND SUGGESTED THE 8TH OF NOVEMBER. SINCE THE AUSTRIAN FEDERAL CHANCELLOR WILL HOLD A RECEPTION FOR ALL DELEGATES ON 8 NOVEMBER, THIS DATE WAS CONSIDERED UNSUITABLE. UK REP (ROSE) SUGGESTED THAT REPORTING DATE TO NATO BE FITTED IN WITH PROPOSED SCHEDULE OF PLENARIES WHICH WOULD BE DISCUSSED LATER IN THE MEETING. THE WRITTEN REPORT BY THE CANADIAN REP (GRANDE) PERTAINING TO HIS CHAIRMANSHIP OF LAST WEEK'S AHG MEETING WAS RECEIVED. (TEXT IN VIENNA 8761.)

3. PLENARY COMMUNIQUE. FRG REP (BEHRENDT) RAISED THE QUESTION OF A COMMUNIQUE AFTER EACH PLENARY SESSION. US DEP REP SUGGESTED THAT A SHORT COMMUNIQUE SHOULD BE PREPARED TO COMMEMORATE THE OPENING SESSION, BUT THAT IT WOULD BE UNWISE TO DO SO AFTER EVERY SESSION. THE EFFORT TO COVER SESSIONS IN BRIEF LANGUAGE WOULD BE VERY DIFFICULT, TIME-CONSUMING AND TEND TO INHIBIT ALLIED BACKGROUNDING WHEN CONSIDERED DESIRABLE. IT WAS ALSO DOUBTFUL THAT PRESS WOULD BE SATISFIED WITH SUCH LIMITED STATEMENTS, AND THEREFORE IT WOULD BETTER NOT TO MAKE THEM. UK REP MENTIONED THAT A SHORT STATEMENT THAT A PLENARY HAD MET AND A LIST OF SPEAKERS MIGHT BE SUFFICIENT. BELGIAN ACTING REP (WILLOT) SUPPORTED US VIEW, POINTING OUT THAT IF THE COMMUNIQUE WERE TO LIST THE SPEAKERS, IT WOULD HAVE DISADVANTAGE OF FOCUSING PRESS ATTENTION ON THE SPEAKERS. THIS COULD RESULT IN USE OF PREPARED WRITTEN TEXTS. IT WOULD BE UNDESIRABLE IF MBFR PLENARIES FOLLOWED THE PATTERN OF THE CCD; A PLENARY SHOULD INSTEAD BE A DISCUSSION FORUM. NETHERLANDS REP (QUARLES) SUPPORTED SHORT COMMUNIQUE ON THE OPENING DAY ONLY. GROUP AGREED.

4. PRELIMINARY DISCUSSION WITH EAST. NETHERLANDS REP
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SUGGESTED THAT THE AD HOC GROUP PREPARE A COMPREHENSIVE LIST OF THE PROCEDURAL MATTERS TO BE DISCUSSED WITH THE EAST AS DEALT WITH IN PREVIOUS AD HOC GROUP MEETINGS. THE US DEP REP VOLUNTEERED TO PREPARE A DRAFT TOGETHER WITH THE NETHERLANDS REP AND THE ACTING BELGIAN REP. US DEP REP SUGGESTED THAT FRG REP, WHO WILL BE THE CHAIRMAN AT THE PLENARY SESSION, WOULD BE THE PROPER MAN TO PREPARE COMMUNIQUE DRAFT SINCE HE MIGHT HAVE TO OBTAIN AGREEMENT WITH THE SOVIETS

ON THE TEXT. UK REP SUGGESTED THAT IT BE SHORT AND INCLUDE THE LIST OF SPEAKERS ON THE OPENING DAY. CANADIAN REP SUGGESTED THAT A REFERENCE TO THE PRESENCE OF THE AUSTRIAN FOREIGN MINISTER AT THE OPENING SHOULD BE INCLUDED. US DEP REP PROPOSED PROSECUTIVE CHAIRMAN SHOULD ALSO DRAFT A SUGGESTED REPLY TO THE FOREIGN MINISTER FOR CLEARANCE WITH EAST. BELGIAN ACTING REP MENTIONED THAT THE PRESS AND TV WOULD ONLY BE PERMITTED TO STAY FOR THE OPENING ADDRESS OF THE AUSTRIAN FOREIGN MINISTER AND THE CHAIRMAN'S REPLY. FRG REP ASKED HOW TO HANDLE THE FORMAL OPENING OF CONFERENCE AND WAS ADVISED BY US DEP REP THAT THIS COULD ONLY BE DONE AFTER THE AUSTRIAN FOREIGN MINISTER HAD LEFT TO AVOID GIVING IMPRESSION THAT AUSTRIA IS IN SOME WAY PARTICIPATING IN THE NEGOTIATIONS. ALSO, CHAIRMAN MAY WANT TO KNOW WHAT AUSTRIAN FOREIGN MINISTER KIRSCHLAGER IS GOING TO SAY IN ORDER TO PREPARE HIS REPLY. US REP ASKED ALL MEMBERS OF THE DELEGATION TO KEEP WEDNESDAY EVENING, OCT 31 OPEN SINCE HE PLANS TO HOST A RECEPTION FOR ALL DELEGATIONS.

5. BILATERAL CONTACTS. NONE.

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 4 VIENNA 8871

LIMDIS

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E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, NATO

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6. OPENING STATEMENTS. THE BELGIAN REDRAFTED STATEMENT (VIENNA 8635) WAS REVIEWED. CANADIAN REP OBSERVED THAT CHANGES REQUESTED BY GROUP IN A PREVIOUS DRAFT HAD BEEN MADE, AND GROUP APPROVED STATEMENT.

7. NORWEGIAN STATEMENT. NORWEGIAN STATEMENT (TEXT SEPTTEL) WAS CIRCULATED. NORWEGIAN REP POINTED OUT THAT ALL POINTS RAISED BY AD HOC GROUP HAD BEEN TAKEN INTO CONSIDERATION AND INCORPORATED INTO PARAS.

8, 9, AND 11. ACTING BELGIAN REP ASKED THAT FIRST SENTENCE IN PARAGRAPH 11 BE CHANGED TO SUGGEST THAT GREAT POWERS SHOULD "TAKE FIRST STEP" INSTEAD OF "TAKE CONFIDENTIAL

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THE LEAD". US REP QUESTIONED WORDING OF OPENING PHRASE IN PARAGRAPH 12 "WITHOUT PREJUDICE TO FUTURE AGREEMENT" AS POSSIBLY PROVIDING OPENING FOR PACT EFFORTS TO EXPAND REDUCTION AREA. US DEP REP SUGGESTED SUBSTITUTION OF THE TERM "MORE SPECIFIC" FOR "FUTURE". UK REP EXPRESSED HIS UNHAPPINESS OVER THE IMPLIED (THOUGH NOT SPELLED OUT) LINKAGE OF MBFR ASSOCIATED MEASURES IN PARA 9 TO THE QUESTION OF CONFIDENCE BUILDING MEASURES AT CSCE IN PARA 10, AND ASKED WHETHER THE FIRST PHRASE OF PARA 10 COULD NOT BE LEFT OUT OR PLACED SOMEPLACE ELSE. NORWEGIAN REP STATED THAT HIS COUNTRY CONSIDERED CSCE CONFIDENCE BUILDING MEASURES MORE IMPORTANT THAN MANY ASPECTS OF MBFR AND SO THIS CHANGE WOULD BE VERY DIFFICULT. UK REP THEN SUGGESTED THAT ALL OF PARA 10 BE PLACED INSTEAD AFTER PARA 12 TO AVOID LIKAGE IMPLICATIONS. NORWEGIAN REP STATED THAT HE WILL SUGGEST THAT PARA 10 BE PLACED AFTER PARA 12.

8. CANADIAN STATEMENT. CANADIAN REP OBSERVED THAT REVISED OPENING STATEMENT WAS ESSENTIALLY THE SAME AS PREVIOUS VERSION (TEXT IN USNATO 4809) EXCEPT FOR THE ADDITION OF A NEW PENULTIMATE PARA: BEGIN TEXT: THE CANADIAN DELEGATION WILL PLAY ITS FULL PART IN WHAT IT HOPES WILL BE A COMMON EFFORT TO MEET THE CHALLENGE AND TO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF THE OPPORTUNITIES PRESENTED BY THESE NEGOTIATIONS. WE ARE OPTIMISTIC, BUT WE WILL ALSO BE REALISTIC. WE ARE HOPEFUL, BUT WE ALSO INTEND TO BE VIGILANT. WE WILL ASSESS THE INTENTIONS OF OTHER

PARTIES TO THE NEGOTIATIONS NOT ONLY BY THEIR WORDS HERE, BUT ALSO BY THEIR DEEDS ELSEWHERE. END TEXT. HE ALSO STATED THAT HE WOULD SEEK TO DELETE THE LAST SENTENCE IN THE SIXTH PARAGRAPH, WHICH STATES THAT THE MUTUAL CONFIDENCE NECESSARY FOR NEGOTIATIONS WOULD BE ADVERSELY AFFECTED IF ANY PARTY INCREASED THE SIZE OF ITS FORCES. FRG REP MENTIONED THAT A SIMILAR PHRASE WAS BEING DELETED IN FRG OPENING STATEMENT. THE CANADIAN STATEMENT WAS APPROVED BY THE GROUP.

9. UK OPENING STATEMENT. UK REP OBSERVED THAT ONLY CHANGES FROM PREVIOUS DRAFT (TEXT IN USNATO 4874) WERE CONFIDENTIAL

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A SLIGHT REARRANGEMENT OF PARAS 6 AND 7 AND THE ADDITION OF TWO SENTENCES TO END OF PARA 5: BEGIN TEXT: LIKE OUR ALLIES, WE BELIEVE THAT IT COULD ULTIMATELY BE MET BY THE ACHIEVEMENT OF A COMMON CEILING FOR THE GROUND FORCES OF EAST AND WEST IN CENTRAL EUROPE. BUT WE SHOULD BEGIN BY DISCUSSING THE FORCES IN CENTRAL EUROPE OF THE MOST POWERFUL COUNTRY ON EITHER SIDE, I.E., THE UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIET UNION. END TEXT. THE REVISED UK STATEMENT WAS APPROVED WITHOUT DISCUSSION.

10. ITALIAN OPENING STATEMENT. ITALIAN DEP REP (GIUSTI) MENTIONED THAT THERE HAD BEEN NO CHANGE IN SUBSTANCE IN THE STATEMENT (TEXT IN USNATO 4811). CANADIAN REP OBSERVED THAT TEXT DID NOT INCLUDE THE AGREED TITLE, NEGOTIATIONS ON MUTUAL REDUCTION OF FORCES AND ARMAMENTS AND ASSOCIATED MEASURES IN CENTRAL EUROPE, WHICH ALL ALLIED COUNTRIES HAS AGREED TO INSERT INTO THEIR OPENING STATEMENTS. ITALIAN DEP REP AGREED TO INSERT PHRASE. UK REP MENTIONED THAT HE WOULD ALSO HAVE TO INSERT THIS PHRASE IN UK OPENING STATEMENT.

11. UK DELEGATION CIRCULATED A PAPER ON THE "ORGANIZATION OF WORK DURING THE OPENING PERIOD OF NEGOTIATIONS" (TEXT SEPTTEL). UK REP EMPHASIZED THAT WHILE THE GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS IN THE PAPER WOULD APPLY FOR SOME TIME TO COME, THE PROPOSED SCHEDULE WAS INTENDED TO APPLY ONLY TO THE INITIAL PERIOD OF NEGOTIATIONS. ONCE THE TIME COMES TO LEAVE THE EXPOSITION OF THEMES AND GET DOWN TO GIVE-AND-TAKE, IT WILL PROBABLY NOT BE POSSIBLE TO MAINTAIN SUCH A FAST PACE. NETHERLANDS REP COMMENTED THAT THE FREQUENCY OF PLENARIES WAS NOT A GOOD INDEX OF THE INTENSITY OF THE NEGOTIATIONS, AND THAT THERE MIGHT WELL BE PERIODS OF VERY HARD WORK IN THE AD HOC GROUP

WITH RELATIVELY FEW PLENARIES. THE FREQUENCY OF
PLENARIES IN THE FUTURE SHOULD DEPEND UPON HOW EFFICIENT
THEY PROVE TO BE, AS WELL AS ON THE VIEWS OF THE OTHER SIDE.

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INFO USMISSION NATO

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY LONDON

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 3 OF 4 VIENNA 8871

LIMDIS

MBFR NEGOTIATIONS

FROM US REP MBFR

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, NATO

SUBJECT: MBFR NEGOTIATIONS: AD HOC GROUP MEETING OCT 25, 1973

HOWEVER, NETHERLANDS REP ADDED, THE UK IDEAS
OF A REGULAR SCHEDULE FOR AD HOC GROUP MEETINGS
AND OF ONE DAY PER WEEK NORMALLY KEPT FREE OF
ANY MEETINGS WERE GOOD ONES, SINCE THEY WOULD
FACILITATE THE SCHEDULING OF BILATERAL CONTACTS.
FINALLY, NETHERLANDS REP QUESTIONED WHETHER AN AD HOC
GROUP MEETING SHOULD BE REGULARLY SCHEDULED AFTER EACH
PLENARY, AS THE UK PROPOSED. IF SUCH A MEETING WERE
NECESSARY, IT COULD BE CALLED ON THE SPUR OF THE
MOMENT. BUT AFTER PLENARIES, DELEGATIONS WOULD

NEED TIME TO REPORT TO THEIR CAPITALS. ITALIAN REP
QUESTIONED WHETHER TWO PLENARIES PER WEEK WERE
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DESIRABLE. NAC GUIDANCE CALLED FOR A MINIMUM OF ONE
EVERY TWO WEEKS, AND SURELY ONE PER WEEK WOULD BE
SUFFICIENT.

12. US REP STATED THAT HE LIKED THE UK PAPER AND
ITS PROPOSALS. TWO PLENARIES PER WEEK WAS A REASONABLE
SCHEDULE DURING THE PERIOD FOR WHICH THE ALLIES HAD
PREPARED MATERIAL TO PRESENT, AND DID NOT ANTICIPATE
MUCH BACK-AND-FORTH DISCUSSION. EVEN THIS WOULD ALLOW
ONLY TWELVE PLENARIES BETWEEN THE COMPLETION OF
OPENING STATEMENTS AND THE MIDDLE OF DECEMBER. US
REP FELT THAT AN AD HOC GROUP MEETING AFTER EACH
PLENARY WAS ESSENTIAL SO THAT THE REPORTS TO GOVERNMENTS
COULD REFLECT A COMMON VIEW OF WHAT THE OTHER SIDE HAD
SAID AND OF ITS IMPLICATIONS.

13. ITALIAN REP SUGGESTED THAT SCHEDULING WOULD
BE EASIER IF PLENARIES WERE NORMALLY HELD IN THE
MORNING, INSTEAD OF THE AFTERNOON AS THE UK PAPER
SUGGESTED. THEN THE AD HOC GROUP COULD MEET IN THE
AFTERNOON. UK REP POINTED OUT THAT THE AD HOC GROUP
MUST ALSO MEET BEFORE EACH PLENARY SESSION IN ORDER TO
COMPLETE PREPARATIONS FOR IT. AFTER FURTHER DISCUSSION,
A CONSENSUS WAS REACHED ON THE FOLLOWING SCHEDULE:

AM	PM
MON	AD HOC GROUP-FINAL PREPARATION FOR PLENARY
TUE/PLENARY	AD HOC GROUP--FOLLOW-UP ON PLENARY; INITIAL PREPARATION FOR NEXT PLENARY
WED	AD HOC GROUP--FINAL PREPARATION FOR PLENARY
THUR/PLENARY	AD HOC GROUP--FOLLOW-UP ON PLENARY; INITIAL PREPARATION FOR NEXT PLENARY
FRI	-

14. GROUP THEN TOOK UP QUESTION OF THE SCHEDULING OF ORAL
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REPORTS TO THE NAC. IT WAS AGREED THAT IN THE LIGHT OF THIS SCHEDULE, THE REPORTS COULD BEST BE MADE ON FRIDAY MORNINGS. THE AIRLINE SCHEDULES ARE NOT IDEAL FOR SUCH TRAVEL FROM VIENNA TO BRUSSELS, AND US REP OFFERED TO FIND OUT WHETHER A US MILITARY PLANE MIGHT BE AVAILABLE EVERY THIRD WEEK, THUS ALLOWING THE REPORTING GROUP TO CONFER EN ROUTE.

15. THE FIRST REPORT TO THE NAC IS A SPECIAL CASE, SINCE AUSTRIAN CHANCELLOR KREISKY HAS SCHEDULED A RECEPTION FOR ALL DELEGATIONS THE EVENING OF NOVEMBER 8. THE GROUP WAS UNANIMOUS THAT ALLIED REPS SHOULD ATTEND THIS RECEPTION AND COULD NOT LEAVE FOR BRUSSELS TO REPORT TO THE NAC UNTIL AFTER THIS RECEPTION, WHICH RULES OUT THE NAC'S PREFERENCE FOR A REPORT ON THE 8TH. ASSUMING THAT COMMERCIAL AIRLINES ARE USED IN THIS CASE, THE REPORTING TEAM COULD NOT ADDRESS THE NAC BEFORE ABOUT 11:30 THE MORNING OF THE 9TH. THE IS REP WAS ASKED TO SO INFORM THE NATO SYG.

16. FRG REP EXPRESSED SOME DOUBTS ABOUT PARA 7 OF THE UK PAPER, WHICH NOTES THAT THE AHG WILL SUPPORT THE CONVENING OF A PLENARY WHENEVER TWO OF ITS MEMBERS SO REQUEST. IT WAS POINTED OUT THAT THIS REJECTED A NAC DECISION. FRG REP PLAINTIVELY ADDED THAT HIS COUNTRY WOULD NOT BE REFERRED TO IN A PRESS HANDOUT BY THE TERM FRG BUT BY THE SPELLED OUT NAME FEDERAL REUBLIC OF GERMANY. THE SHORT FORM HAS NEVER BEEN OFFICIALLY SANCTIONED, UNLIKE THE TERM GDR.

17. DRAFT PRESS STATEMENT BY NETHERLANDS REP WAS

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 314
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 4 OF 4 VIENNA 8871

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THEN CIRCULATED (TEXT WAS A SLIGHT REVISION OF THAT IN VIENNA 8804). NETHERLANDS REP COMMENTED THAT HE INTENDED TO DISTRIBUTE THIS TEXT TO THE PRESS ABOUT TEN MINUTES BEFORE HIS PRESS CONFERENCE BEGAN, AND THAT THEREFORE HE WOULD NOT READ OFF THE INITIAL SECTIONS DEALING WITH PREVIOUS HISTORY OF NEGOTIATIONS. HE WOULD READ THE RESUME OF THE MAIN THEMES IN THE ALLIED OPENING STATEMENTS AND A SECTION ANALYZING THE EASTERN OPENING STATEMENTS WHICH WOULD BE ADDED AT THE LAST MINUTE BASED ON SHORT AD HOC GROUP MEETINGS IN CONFERENCE BUILDING.

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18. BELGIAN ACTING REP OBJECTED TO THE PASSAGE IN THIS TEXT (PARA 8C IN VIENNA 8804) IN WHICH IT IS IMPLIED THAT MBFR WILL REDUCE CONFRONTATION IN EUROPE, POINTING OUT THAT IDEOLOGICAL CONFRONTATION WILL REMAIN.

20. NEXT MEETING WILL BE AT 10:30 AM, OCTOBER 26, 1973.
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